2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma
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humiliation. As an instance of Burman carelessness in money matters it may be mentioned that when the final instalment was paid, considerably over the sum due was sent to Calcutta. When the overplus was returned, there was great discussion among the Ministers as to what could be the motive of the Indian Government in being so singularly scrupulous.

A good many districts were almost entirely exempted from taxes in recognition of special services required of them. The inhabitants of the capital were particularly well off in this respect. They furnished the troops to guard the palace and city. Moreover, it would have been much more difficult to oppress them with impunity, apart from the fact that if they were disaffected it would have offered a premium to rebels. For similar reasons some of the townships about Môtshobo were free from the ngwedaw. It was from this district that Alaungpaya, the founder of the dynasty, came, and insurrectionist princes always made for Môtshobo when they levied war. Several villages on the Irrawaddy, in consideration of supplying the royal gilded boats, manning the royal barges, and passing on Court despatches, were relieved from the family tax. But the petty officials took very good care that they did not grow rich on their immunities.

All these methods were more or less sanctioned by ancient custom. Modern ingenuity and requirements, however, found out new ways of raising money. The pious ardour of Mindôn led him to spend vast sums on the erection of pagodas and religious buildings of all kinds, as well as on the manufactories, cotton mills, foundries, and powder mills with which he crowded the suburbs of Mandalay, and closed when he got tired of them. All this cost a very great deal of money, which even the exaction of benevolences from wealthy courtiers failed to supply. Consequently Mindôn Min turned merchant and established a great number of royal monopolies. The producers were allowed to sell to none but to him, and he fixed the price which he was prepared to pay. For long, cotton, jaggery, timber, wheat, precious stones, and earth oil could only be had from the royal merchant, and the trade with British Burma was in anything but a satisfactory state. Then in 1867, Colonel

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655 651 Fytche, holding out the inducement of increased customs dues from the newly started Irrawaddy Flotilla Company's steamers, persuaded his majesty to give up all the monopolies, except those of earth oil, timber, and precious stones; and to agree to a uniform import and export duty on all other goods and merchandise, passing between British and Burmese territory, of five per cent *ad valorem*. This treaty lapsed in 1877 and was not renewed. Nevertheless, King Mindôn did not renew the monopolies.

When his son came to the throne, he issued, or there was issued for him, a proclamation, stating that he was going to adopt Western forms of government, and expressly announcing that he had no intention of reviving the monopoly system. He was, however, with his wild, extravagant habits, very soon in as great monetary difficulties as his father, and from 1880 began steadily to sell monopolies and give grants of forest land for hard cash payments. The new monopoly buyers, haunted by a fear of British interference, and not by any means assured in their minds as to the stability of Thibaw Min's rule, were anxious to get as much money as they could, and therefore paid only the [433] most absurdly low prices for produce. The cultivators, finding all their labour in vain, began consequently in large numbers to give up farming or working in the forests, the consequence of which was a still further shock to the trade with British Burma and an entire inability on the part of the 651 population the following year to pay the house-tax. Besides 525 the monopoly system derived from his predecessors, Thibaw Min also hit on the notion of lotteries for the replenishmert of his treasury. The system worked very well for a time, and brought in great quantities of money, but latterly the loose coin of the populace had all been netted, and the lottery source of revenue was pretty nearly worked out. In 1879 and 1880 Mandalay was simply flooded with lottery-offices, each under the superintendence of a minister of high rank. Those who were able to show the king the most money were highest in the royal favour, and consequently the rivalry between these worthies ran very strong. All manner of dodges were tried to entice speculators away from all other offices to the minister's own. The Hpaung-wun,

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651 525 446 lists were filled up, no matter whether it was an ubone, or a more sacred feast, and, as a consequence, the minds of the people were kept in a state of perpetual unhealthy excitement.

651 525 178 [562] Neither buyers nor sellers were to be seen in the bazaar. Cultivators sold off their farming stock and implements, and launched all their money into the state lotteries. Fathers sold their daughters, and husbands their wives, to have a final try for fortune, until the lottery managers issued a notice that they would give no more tickets in exchange for women. To fill up the totals faster, and draw in every available coin, twenty, or even more, people were allowed to club together to buy a single ticket. Business was entirely suspended, and all the people hovered about the lottery-offices, longing for the drawing, while cleaned-out speculators prowled about day and night, watching for an opportunity to thieve and rob. How it was that the plundered people did not rise against the government, or at least against the lottery managers, is a mystery, but they did not. The suburbs of Mandalay were filled for a time with ruined gamblers, until the soldiery were employed to drive them farther afield, when many made their way to the frontier, and recouped themselves by raids on British Burma villages. Eventually money failed, or the people were disillusionised, and the lottery-offices, though several remained open, drove but a very slight trade. Then Thibaw Min had to resort to other measures to meet his expenditure, and from July 1881 began disposing of monopolies right and left. Having finished the export monopolies, he commenced with those on imports. The British trade with Upper Burma was being steadily ruined, and the war which ended in the extinction of the kingdom of Burma was made inevitable.

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656 GOVERNMENT REGULATION--policies underlying government regulation of private enterprises and activities; general aspects of supervision, restriction, and enforcement; specific instances of government regulation not classifiable elsewhere; etc. See also:

Government regulation of hunting and fishing . . . 22
Government regulation of food procesing 25
Government regulation of the manufacture and distribution of liquor and drugs 27
Government regulation of banking and finance . . 45
Government regulation of business and industry . . 47
Government regulation of travel and transportation 48
Government regulation of immigration 167
Conservation policies 185
Government regulation of radio 207
Government regulation of dairying 234
Rationing 434
Price controls 435
Government regulation of wages 465
Government regulation of marriage 582
Wartime regulations 722
Government regulation of medical personnel . . 759
Government regulation of weights and measures . 804

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CHAPTER XLIII

SUMPTUARY LAWS AND ETIQUETTE[1]

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UNDER native rule the sumptuary laws in Mandalay were exceedingly strict and most elaborate in their character. Out of the capital the regulations were equally in force, but never, as a matter of fact, came into action, because the country governors took very good care to replenish their coffers out of the money-bags of every one who chanced to be fortunate in his speculations. Speaking generally, officials were the only rich people; but in no country in the world was the official rank more open to competition, or more subject to the caprice of the king. The last mayor of Mandalay, who was also Governor of the Rafts—that is to say, Lord High Admiral—was not many years before little better than a slave, and owed his first start in life to a lucky accident. Several others of King Thibaw's most prominent advisers were among his personal attendants before he ascended the throne. There is, therefore, nothing of the caste prejudice of the Hindoos to be found in Burma. Burmans will often declare there is caste, but what is called by that name is nothing more than the arbitrary settlement by the sumptuary laws of what a man might wear and what was forbidden; what language he may use and what must be used to him. Captain Forbes, in his book on Burma, said that these prohibitions extended in native territory to the names which might be given to a man. The term Shwe, meaning gold, was, he said, restricted as a name to people of rank. This is certainly a misappre-

[1] Since the annexation of Upper Burma these sumptuary rules are no longer law, but they are observed by very many good citizens even under British rule.

2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma
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hension. It may have been an ancient law, but it was not enforced in the last years of the Burmese empire, and it does not seem to have been enforced even in the times of the haughtiest and most unreasonable monarchs, such as Tharrawaddy and Mintaya Gyi. The appellative was perhaps not so common as in British territory; but as far as the law was concerned, the poor man might call himself and his children Shwe as much as he pleased; only he had to be very careful how he used any of the gold he might possess in decorating his person or in adorning his house.

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If the regulations did not apply to the name a man might have, they certainly did to the language he might make use of. Oriental forms of speech in self-depreciation are familiar enough. They are universal with all the nations of the East, and even turn up in the democratic West in the petitions of "your humble, obedient servant." The magniloquent and supreme nga, as applied to one's self, is not peculiar to Burma; while hnin, addressed to an inferior, is only a little more contemptuous than the *Er* of the small German courts. The difference between the various ranks is far more distinctly marked than this in the employment of different forms of speech; an entirely special language as applied to the royal blood, and in a scarcely less adulatory way to the members of the Assembly of the Perfect. A man "dies"; a monk "goes back" to the blissful seats whence he came, or to ne'ban; a king "ascends to the village of Nats"; one of the six heavens of happiness, where the passions still reign, and in the contemplation of which Buddhists find consolation for the otherwise dismal forebodings of their faith. The Buddhist religion is thoroughly democratic. A man only is what he is through his actions in past existences. The accumulation of merits must therefore vastly outweigh the demerits in the kan of a king. However badly he may act in his regal existence, he cannot fall below the lowest seat of the dewas—at least, so official language declares. Similarly, an ordinary man "walks"; a mendicant "stalks," or "strides," or "paces with dignified gait," or whatever may be the English honorific equivalent of the Burmese chwa; while a king "makes a royal progress." The latter expression was emphatically correct as

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Myowun, the lord high admiral, and lord mayor's establishment was generally admitted to be the largest and best, and it was certainly he who first began to try and allure the people. He secured the old custom-house buildings for his office, and enclosed a wide expanse round about it with a strong bamboo fence. Porous pots of deliciously cool drinking water, each pot supplied with a number of tin mugs, were arranged on stands all round the sides. The antisoporific letpet, the gigantic, but soothing, green cheroot, and the good betel lay in great heaps on the tables everywhere, and vanished with extraordinary rapidity. A dozen or more punkahs were hung up and worked by coolies, so as to calm the brains and cool the heated faces of excited clients. Later on, when other wuns and letthondaw copied his methods, the resourceful Hpaungwun added bands of music, dancing girls, and even regular dramatic performances, kept up perpetually, to the other attractions of his place of business. Some managers strove to get the better of their neighbours by giving the people unlimited supplies of palm-toddy, in the hope that the heady liquor might induce them to risk their last coins. Others hit upon the device of returning one pice—about one farthing—on each ticket taken. Others again, desperate at the thought of being unable to render a good account to their royal master, engaged gangs of bullies, who went about threatening people with violence or false accusations in the law-courts if any but their master were patronised, while the Zegyodaw Myowun, U Tha O, in virtue of his official position as keeper of the markets, sent his subordinates to the Chinese gambling-house keepers, and forced them to subscribe periodically for fifty tickets at a couple of rupees each, if they hoped to retain their gambling licenses. Fired by his example, the Yaw Shwedaik and Taingda atwinwuns also made use of their court influence to draw subscribers. Brokers and traders of all nationalities who had business with the palace were put down for a couple of hundred tickets or so, on pain of losing their contracts. One of the wundouks was advanced and heedless enough to select the Dhammayôn, a place of worship and prayer, for his lottery-office. All the old lines were upset. Drawings were held whenever the

2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma
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The only analogy to the crown lands in Lower Burma was found in the reservation of forests by the government for the preservation of teak and other valuable trees such as the thit-ka (*Cedreela toona*), thit-kado (*Pentace Burmanica*), and padauk (*Pterocarpus Indicus*), which are absolutely reserved, that is to say, no tree may be felled which has not been girdled by government forest officers, even by those who have bought the right to remove the timber. It is expressly stated that the lessee is in no case allowed to girdle trees on his own account, and the rules are in other respects of the most stringent and Oriental description. No taung-ya, or hill-gardens may be made in the demarcated tracts. A selection of rivers and streams is made which must be kept free from all artificial obstructions, whether for fisheries, irrigation, or other purposes. Unauthorised felling, cutting, marking, killing, or injuring trees of all kinds, shrubs or bamboos, the collection of wood oil, resin, and even leaves, and any interference with the soil or its produce without permission, is made penal. Even the use of existing roads and bridle-paths may, if the forest officer sees fit, be prohibited. In 1882, out of a total area of about 80,000 square miles of teak-producing forests, some 13,000 square miles were thus reserved, but this area has now been ten times exceeded. The Burman, who knows nothing whatever of game laws or edicts against trespassers, is inclined to look upon this stringent reservation of land which the ancient code declares free for all, as something far more despotic than the enforced labour and extortionate demands of national rule. Doubtless time will prove to him that it is a wise precaution to guard from destruction a slow-growing tree like the teak, and when the wandering hunter gets to understand that forest fires are a calamity and not simply an easy method of making a clearing, the State forests will come to be something less like pheasant coverts than they now are.

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Otherwise, waste lands, as in old Upper Burma, are by the law of the Dhammathat open to all-comers. Any one can select for himself a tract of such land at his pleasure, and may clear and cultivate in any way he chooses, paying his tax upon it when the time for the annual assessment of land revenue comes round. In many cases, however, he is allowed

it out to dry in the sun throughout the next day, then pound again and store in jars. The total process takes two days."

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U Myaing continues his explanation of the IN fishery:-

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"The fishery is worked on a co-operative basis. We contribute equal sums of money. If one puts up Rs. 100/- all put up Rs.100/-; if Rs.1000/- all put up Rs.1000/- each. We group together and work. Rights to the site of the fishery must be secured from the government by auction. We have to make an initial payment of about Rs. 1000/- or Rs. 2000/- and in bidding among ourselves the price increases to eight thousand, nine thousand, ten thousand, twelve thousand. The original price was three thousand rupees. This is the cost of the Deputy Commissioner's auction. There were many bidders at the auction for the IN. Four, five, six. For example if I give a thousand rupees you offer two thousand, he gives three, four, five thousand ..... When it comes to the hand of the successful bidder the price has increased. The money for the fishery rights have to be paid in later (after the fishing has begun). For example if I pay in a thousand rupees this month, I pay a thousand the next month and the next, in several instalments. This is in addition to the amount we sink into the actual working of the business. (Cost of constructing the IN and equipment).

"The fishermen do not get paid a salary. They have shares. Accounts are kept of how much fish is caught, how much sold, and only after the IN has been worked to the end of the season is everything cleared up. Each fisherman gets only one share, and the profits are equally divided. We have to pay equal amounts of money for the IN and the money we get from the IN is the same for each of us. We all group and work together. There are some INS where one takes the lead and engages all the men and works it for himself. What he gets he keeps for himself. He pays the wages. In selling, we discuss the matter among ourselves and then sell. The four or five elders get together and if they decide to sell this kind of fish for this price, it is sold.

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"As one of the elders, I go alone and bid at the auctioning in the Deputy Commissioner's office. I also supervise the actual fishing saying to the other fishermen - "Do this, and this and this." I have a list of what things they need and have to go and buy these things for them. I have to buy poles, I have to buy YIN bamboo, I have to buy all the implements which are to be used. I have to collect money, and buy all the implements used in the IN. I have to keep accounts for this. I get a bit more money (than the other fishermen) by making goods (from the profits of manufacture). You see, I also make dried Nga-gyi fish and Ngapi-daung. I buy the fish from them and process it. I have not worked at INS all my life. I worked for about ten years at the time when the British king reigned. When the Japanese came I worked at INS no longer."(He then bought fish and sold the preparations.)

U Myaing gives the following supplementary information:

" There are ten leaders or foremen in the village, each of them taking charge of about seven or eight men. In all there are about eighty workers in the three sub-villages of Patine working with me at our IN. About thirty or forty of these live in INA-GYI-BET on our side of the river. These are men working at our IN only. There are also workers living in the village who work in the six other INS of the neighbourhood. About a hundred of the two hundred families in INA-GYI-BET work INS. The rest process the fish, dry it, make ngapi etc., and to do this they have to buy the fish from the IN workers. Afterwards they sell to buyers who come from Upper Burma. Or sometimes they go upcountry in boats and steamers to sell the produce. Some people who are not IN workers go to the INS and help to extract fish oil. Fish like Nga-Nyare-daung yeild about one viss of oil to every 10 viss of fish. The fish are cut open with a knife and the fat collected. The women come and help without payment and take home oil for themselves when they go back. The women of my household also used to do this.

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21: Htin Aung E-5 (ca. 1930) 1937 AP1 Burma
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to be under the direct control of the state. But as living actors were now past such control, he turned his attention towards puppets, which were in great demand by the people. He realized the possibilities of puppets in the newly arisen national drama. The puppet show, which was then entirely independent of the drama and the living actors, started with different animals coming out one by one, and each gave a special dance to a particular tune of its own, played by the orchestra, then a *zaugyee*[1] appeared and danced, and finally, a prince and princess came out, made love, sang and danced. The puppets were from 2½ to 3 feet in height, and were worked by strings. As stage, there was a raised platform, with a black curtain, behind which the show-men stood and manipulated the puppets. The men's hands were visible, but as the platform was about four feet high and the audience had to look up, the hands did not distinctly come into the line of vision. The platform was about twenty feet in length, and the width of the part in front of the curtain was about four feet.

The minister put the puppet show under direct state patronage and control. Under him the puppet show became similar to an ordinary dramatic presentation except that puppets performed instead of living actors. The use of puppets to act the play of course caused the introduction of new puppets, but it also rendered the *zaugyee* and animal puppets unnecessary; yet they were retained all

[1] *Zaugyee* is the Burmese term for an alchemist. It is a derivative of the Indian word *yogi* but the Burmese alchemist has little in common with the Indian ascetic. It is an example of how names of Pali and semi-Buddhist origin were applied to already-existing native ideas.

A man (but not a woman) becomes a *zaugyee* when he has introduced into his body the right metal-compounds. To obtain those compounds, he has to experiment on metals with quicksilver or iron. In the first case, he becomes a 'quicksilver *zaugyee*' and in the second, an 'iron *zaugyee*', but both have the same powers. A *zaugyee* lives for millions of years, and can travel in the air, in water, or under the earth, for his body has reached the state when it is beyond the ordinary laws of nature. A halfway stage in the experiments is reached when a 'stone of live metal' (equivalent to the medieval 'philosopher's stone') is obtained. A person in actual possession of the stone can fly in the air and travel under the earth, but his powers are entirely dependent on the stone, i.e. his body is still an ordinary human body. The stone turns lead into silver and brass into gold. It will be seen that a Burman striving to become a *zaugyee* has much in common with the medieval European alchemist.

The beliefs connected with the *zaugyee* are still widely current. For a detailed account of Burmese alchemy, see the writer's 'Alchemy and Alchemists in Burma' in *Folk-Lore*, December 1933.

21: Htin Aung E-5 (ca. 1930) 1937 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

175 536* the same. Therefore after the minister's innovation, the puppet show was actually a combination of two different things, the old puppet show as seen in the animal puppets coming out to dance, and the new puppet play. To many people it must have seemed that the minister did not really introduce any new thing, but only lengthened and made more elaborate that part of the show devoted to the prince [101] and princess. It should be remembered that the Burmese had no puppet drama. In India, in Java, in Siam, in Bali, and in Turkey, there was an actual puppet drama, but in Burma the puppet show was entirely dependent for its plays on the drama of living actors. The minister imposed two restrictions on the puppet show. ● [656] First, the plays presented by puppets must either be founded on the *Jatakas*, or on the great events in the nation's history. Second, the dress, manners, and customs of the king and his court presented on the puppet stage should be correct in every detail.

536* 463 The innovations of the able minister resulted in the rise of a new class of puppet show-men. They were mostly drawn from the ranks of the professional actors, but they were of proved ability and experience, and had to serve at least some months of apprenticeship. The show-men were never looked down upon, and the living actors themselves held them in respect. The puppet show-men were very conservative. State control ended with the death of the minister, perhaps because his successors were not so able; but the show-men kept their stage exactly the same as it was in the time of the minister, except that they presented the plays of U Kyin U, most of which were founded neither on the *Jatakas* nor on historical events. During the decadent period, the puppets stuck to the 'old' plays, and introduced no innovations either in stage-craft or in dramatic technique. 536* 118 The annexation by the British in 1886 was disastrous to the puppet show, for, unlike the living actors, the puppets were almost totally dependent on court patronage. When the country became peaceful again by about 1885, the puppet show-men made gallant attempts to revive their shows, and all over Burma they gave performances. But the show belonged to a dead past, and the conservatism of the show-men would not allow the introduction of anything new. The old show-men died out, and there were not many new-comers, for the profession demanded a term of apprenticeship and its conservatism did not suit the young men, products of the changed conditions. The result was that the puppet troupes gradually disappeared. In 1921, when a puppet performance was given at

341 climate and the insect erosion.

The style of Pagan's stone architecture is
341 still traceable in the form of the wood struc-
565 tures of the monasteries and the palaces of the rulers of the last era of the Burmese Empire, especially in /204/ the characteristic door arches which terminate in horn-like points and the pyramidically rising storey roofs.

An enormous gulf sets this architecture apart from the ordinary Burmese dwelling. One cannot help marvel that a people who have such strong feeling for proportion and graceful flow of lines as to create these most magnificent buildings for its princes and monks, and covered them with a wealth of imaginative carvings, with gold and glittering glass mosaics, that such a people would live in mean, plain, wooden or bamboo huts with scanty house furnishings, even if they can afford something better.

This glaring incongruity is first of all ex-
● [656] plained (2) by the Draconian rules of the old

2. About the general influence on the art of the dwellings cf. H. Schurtz, Urgeschichte der Kultur /Ancient Cultural History/ (Leipzig, 1900), pp. 418 ff.

Burmese class and luxury code. Brick buildings were definitely prohibited--they might have been used as fortifications during revolutions--and it had become second nature to the Burmese that lacquer work /Map--Distribution of House Types--Analyst. --Key: ....Pile dwelling. _____ Ground level dwelling. .....Both types in use./ and gilding, carved door arches and storey roofs should be permitted only on the dwellings of princes and monks who are equal to the former in rank, with restrictions on the houses of other high dignitaries. Even now, after the British
341 rule gave a wider range of freedom to the subjects, following the deposition of the degenerated royal

342 like to the bamboo sticks and together with them
824 bound to the roof rafters (Figure 2). The larger leaves of the Ingyin (Shorea robusta) (8) are

8. According to J.G. Scott, Burma, 2nd ed., (London, 1911), p. 500; other botanical explanations by H.R. Spearman, British Burma Gazeteer 1 (Rangoon 1880), pp. 125 ff., H.J. Wehrli, Zur Wirtschafts- und Siedlungs-Geographie von Ober-Birma /Economic and Settlements Geography of Upper Burma/ (Zurich, 1906), p. 111; Ferrars, ibid., p. 227.

sometimes seen as roofing material, pinned together in rows /207/ with bamboo pins and squeezed with poles against the roof (Figure 3).
342 The grass roofs, particularly during the windy,
●[656] dry winter season, are, of course, an extreme fire hazard and are therefore now prohibited for the cities. There--wherever brick or corrugated tin roofs have not been adopted--a roofing material, called "wakat," a shingle, cut from
355 braided bamboo work is used. As a poor protection in case of fire, which frequently burns down whole villages, a wooden hook, attached to a long handle is employed to tear off those parts of the grass roof which have caught fire and a damper, made of bamboo braided material is used to extinguish the sparks. These two utensils can be seen in practically every house (cf. Plate IV, 1 and especially Plate IV, 3); sometimes a number of jugs, filled with water, are seen standing at the ridge of the roof for purposes of fire fighting.

342 The Burmese attributes good and bad luck in
777 all his undertakings to the influence of the in-
787 numerable benign and evil spirits (Nat) who were originally outside the Buddhist creed, and he makes his decisions dependent on omens and oracles